

The Koberwitzers: Those Who Attended Rudolf Steiner's Agriculture Course at Koberwitz in 1924, World's Foundational Organic Agriculture Course

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Abstract

Rudolf Steiner's Agriculture Course at Koberwitz (now Kobierzyce), in the summer of 1924, was the gateway event that led to the development of biodynamic agriculture and, subsequently, organic agriculture. The present paper identifies for the first time the 111 attendees of that course. The list reveals that 'Koberwitzers', as they called themselves, were a well credentialed and capable group of individuals, some of whom went on to champion and develop Rudolf Steiner's ideas about agriculture and other fields. The present paper revises a prior analysis of the Koberwitzers. For each Koberwitzer, the list reveals, the name, hometown, occupation, and accommodation during the course. Thirty one percent of Koberwitzers were women. Thirty eight percent were associated directly with agriculture (including farmer, estate manager, and estate owner), 6% of attendees were creatives (including writer, author, artist and editor), and a further 6% were priests. These three occupational categories, viz. Agriculture, Creative and Priest, together account for 50% of Koberwitzer occupations (and 72% of the known occupations). There remains for further scholarship to populate gaps in the listing: the gender of one Koberwitzer remains unidentified; one hometown (and country) remains unidentified; 33 occupations remain unidentified; and 51 accommodations remain unidentified. At the time of the Koberwitz course, Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) was mortally ill. The course was never repeated. It was up to the Koberwitzers to progress Rudolf Steiner's call for the development of a differentiated natural agriculture without synthetic chemicals. The Koberwitzers met the call. There are now 251,842 certified biodynamic hectares in 55 countries, included in the 71,514,583 certified organic hectares in 186 countries.

Keywords

Biodynamic Farming, Organic Agriculture, Kobierzyce, Poland, Count Carl von Keyserlingk, Ehrenfried Pfeiffer, Experimental Circle of Anthroposophic Farmers and Gardeners.

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1. Introduction

Koberwitz is ground zero for organic agriculture. New Age philosopher, Dr Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925), delivered his *Agriculture Course* in the otherwise unremarkable village of Koberwitz, Germany, which is now Kobierzyce, Poland (since 1945) in June 1924. Rudolf Steiner propagated his view that 'the farm is an organism', he called for a differentiated agriculture using natural rather than synthetic inputs, and he

suggested natural fertilising preparations for this organic style of agriculture [1-3].

In the following decade and a half, a globally-distributed group of devotees, the *Experimental Circle of Anthroposophic Farmers and Gardeners*, put Rudolf Steiner's "hints" to the practical test [4]. Rudolf Steiner had directed that once experiments had established what practices worked, the results were to be published [1]. Ehrenfried Pfeiffer (1899-1961) honoured that directive when he

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published *Biodynamic Farming and Gardening* in 1938 [5, 6].

In England, the agriculturist and estate owner, Lord Northbourne (1896-1982), was so impressed with Ehrenfried Pfeiffer that he travelled to Switzerland to visit him and invite him to present a course on biodynamic agriculture at Northbourne's Betteshanger estate in Kent in 1939 [7]. The following year, Northbourne, stripped out the mystical elements of biodynamics, and published his own manifesto of what he called "organic farming" [8, 9]. The term 'biodynamic' reflects the Germanic penchant for long and compound words, while Northbourne's choice of 'organic' reflects an Anglo penchant for 'short and sweet' and Northbourne's skills as a wordsmith. Through to the present, biodynamics remains nested within the organics movement. There are now 251,842 certified biodynamic hectares in 55 countries [10] and they are a subset of the 71,514,583 certified organic hectares in 186 countries [11].

Gunther Wachsmuth, one of the Koberwitzers, related Steiner's joy: "After the Koberwitz conference, he said suddenly, with joyful emphasis, 'Now we have got this important work started, too'. Seldom had I seen him so happily moved after the completion of a task. Several times during the journey he spoke with pleasure about that gathering" [12: 163].

Rudolf Steiner explained the genesis of the Koberwitz course: "It has long been the wish of a number of anthroposophists whose calling is connected with farming and agriculture that I should hold a course of lectures containing what there is to be said about agriculture from an anthroposophical point of view. From the 7th till the 16th of June [1924] I was able to find the time to respond to this wish" [13: 9].

Rudolf Steiner expressed the scope of the course: "My subject was the nature of the products supplied by agriculture and the conditions under which these products grow. The aim of these lectures was to arrive at such practical ideas concerning agriculture as should combine what has been gained through practical insight and modern scientific experiment with the spiritually scientific considerations of the subject" [13: 9].

Ehrenfried Pfeiffer, who missed the Koberwitz course at Rudolf Steiner's request for another assignation, related a conversation he had with Rudolf Steiner, after the return from Koberwitz to Dornach, in which Steiner revealed his vision for the future: "The most important thing is to make the blessings of the agricultural preparations available to the largest possible areas over the entire earth, for healing of the earth and in order to improve the nutritive quality of its produce to the utmost respect. That should be our first

objective" [14: 145].

Since the publication of the paper 'Attending the first organic agriculture course: Rudolf Steiner's Agriculture Course at Koberwitz, 1924' [3], I have fielded a number of queries from scholars, generally along the lines of: "Did XYZ attend the Koberwitz Course?" That prior paper identified the number of registrants (n=111), and the break-down by various attributes of the attendees, by gender, country, and profession, but it did not name names. As the centenary of the Koberwitz course approaches, it seems timely to remedy the matter and to reveal the listing of those who attended.

Of those who attended at the Koberwitz course, "All thought of themselves as 'Koberwitzers'" [Karin Ruths-Hoffman in 15: 134], and the present paper adopts that usage.

2. Methods

The present paper relies on the author's transcript of the original enrolment typescript documentation of Rudolf Steiner's Agriculture Course of 1924 at Koberwitz and titled 'Teilnehmer am landwirtschaftlichen kurs' (Participants in the agricultural course) held in the Archive of the Goetheanum, Dornach, Switzerland [16]. That enrolment registration typescript data is tabulated in four columns, viz.: name; hometown; profession; and accommodation.

For the present study, gender data were generally derived from the name of the enrollee. A minority of enrollees had been recorded with gender signifiers, including: 'Baron'; 'Graf' (Count); 'Gräfin' (Countess); 'Frau' (Mrs.); and 'Frl.' (Fräulein, Miss). Generally the first names of enrollees were recorded and generally these yielded an unambiguous gender allocation (e.g. female names included: Annie; Gertrud; and Ursula; and male names included: Hugo; Rudolf; and Wilhelm). A number of Koberwitzers were recorded only by their surname (e.g.: 'v. Moltke') and some effort was made to resolve these from alternative sources. For example, v Moltke is Eliza von Moltke [17, 18]. The gender of one enrollee was unresolved.

Country attribution data were derived from the hometown stated for each enrollee. Boundaries and political regions have changed since 1924, and, for the purposes of the present study, current country boundaries have been used (rather than the regions and boundaries pertaining at the time of the Agriculture Course). Geographic databases and resources including Google Maps <www.googlemaps.org> were used to allocate place-names to countries. Of the 111 enrollees, one hometown was not resolved using geographic databases (viz.: Elzan). The hometown for three individuals was blank on the typescript records, and their hometown was resolved using external sources, and now appear in square brackets in the

present list. For resolving the unspecified hometowns, bibliographic resources, including *Anthroposophie im 20. Jahrhundert* (Anthroposophy in the 20th century) [19], *Biographien Dokumentation der Forschungsstelle Kulturimpuls* <www.biographien.kulturimpuls.org>, and a private Anthroposophy library, were used.

Occupational category (OC) was generated from the profession stated for each Koberwitzer. 'Landwirt' (farmer); 'Gärtner' (gardener); 'Gärtnerin' (gardener); 'Dipl. Landwirt' (Diploma of Agriculture); 'Obstpächter' (orchardist); 'Botaniker' (botanist); 'stud. agr.' (student of agriculture); 'Gutsverwalter' (estate manager); and similar others were classified as 'Agriculture'. Three enrollees were identified as students; one of these was an agriculture student and was allocated to 'Agriculture'; one was a medical student and was allocated to the 'Medical' category; one was declared simply as a 'Student' and was not further categorised.

For accommodation, 53 Koberwitzers nominated one of four places (Kellnerheim, Kronprinz, Nord Hotel, and Reichshof), believed to be hotels all located in Breslau at that time. Four Koberwitzers nominated accommodation as a street or some other entity. Two Koberwitzers stated that they boarded with a third party (b. v. = bestiegen von = boarded with). A further 51 Koberwitzers have the accommodation entry undeclared, and no attempt has been made to resolve this for the present paper.

The spelling of names in the list is generally retained from the source. Some names have been tweaked, for example, Bethusy-Huc is 'corrected' from the transcript which reads 'Bethusi-Huc', to align with the name she used on her books as author [e.g. 20]. The Countess Bethusy-Huc (1849-1926) was a prolific author, and also wrote under the pseudonym 'Moritz von Reichenbach' [21]. She was perhaps the oldest of the Koberwitzers, her 75th birthday (on June 15th) occurred during the Koberwitz course. It appears to be otherwise unknown that Countess Bethusy-Huc attended the Koberwitz course.

Throughout, names are presented in Anglo style, as in

'Countess Valeska Bethusy-Huc', rather than the Germanic ordering of 'Valeska Countess Bethusy-Huc'. Throughout the present paper, the Anglo convention is adopted of honorifics, where they appear at all, appearing as the initial element in a name.

In a number of cases, the gender honorific of 'Frau' and 'Fraulein' appeared in the occupation column of the original typescript, where this is the case the honorific has been retained but relocated to the name column. In a few cases the entries in the 'Hometown' and the 'Occupation' column appeared interchanged and this is rectified in the present list. The list of Koberwitzers of the present paper is presented in alphabetical order, the record of the numerical order of the original list is preserved and appears in the column headed # (number) of the present listing.

In the list of the present paper, where there were missing data in the transcript and the present author has good confidence in alternatively-sourced data, then the 'new data' appear in square brackets. Percentages reported in Tables 2 through 5 are rounded to the nearest whole number, this may result in the total of the individual percentages deviating slightly from the expected total of 100%.

3. Results

The list of the 111 Koberwitzers appears as Table 1. Cells with missing data are populated with '?' where unknown, and with the entry in square brackets where otherwise known. The five black columns are the original list entries (viz. Number, Name, Hometown, Occupation, Accommodation). The four red columns are added by the present author (viz. Gender, Country*, i.e. current country and current town (where the name has changed), Occupation** in English, and OC = occupational code). Entries in square brackets are of information added by the author from external sources and may be subject to future revision where further and better particulars appear. The cells with a '?' are undetermined (and invite further research).

Table 1. The list of Koberwitzers, the attendees of the Agriculture Course, in alphabetical order.

#	Name	G	Hometown	Country*	Occupation	Occupation**	OC	Hotel
4	Bartsch, Erhard	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	Landwirt	Farmer	A	-
5	Bartsch, Hellmut	M	Wilkau	Poland, Wilków	Landwirt	Farmer	A	-
11	Bartsch, Moritz	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	Rektor	Headmaster	T	-
7	Bauer, Paula	F	Kalv	Sweden	Gärtnerin	Gardener	A	Kronprinz
10	Becher, Otto	M	Görlitz	Germany	Priester	Priest	P	-
12	Beck, J	F	Stuttgart	Germany	-	-	?	-
1	Becker, Marie	F	Elberfeld	Germany	Gutsbesitzer	Estate owner	A	Christen Hospital
111	Behschmitt, Ernst	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	Lehrer	Teacher	T	-
6	Bethusy-Huc, Gräfin [Valeska]	F	Bankau	Poland, Bąków	-	[Writer]	C	-
9	Borchart, Martin	M	Dresden	Germany	Priester	Priest	P	-
3	Brederlow, [Anton] von	M	Zoppot	Poland, Sopot	Rittmeister	Cavalry captain	Mi	Kronprinz
8	Brederlow, Frau von	F	Zoppot	Poland, Sopot	-	-	?	Kronprinz

#	Name	G	Hometown	Country*	Occupation	Occupation**	OC	Hotel
2	Brederlow, Wilko von	M	Stuttgart	Germany	stud.agr.	Student of agriculture	A	Kronprinz
13	Dreidax, Franz	M	Tschechnitz	Poland, Siechnice	Dipl. Ing.	Diploma of Engineering	E	-
107	Engel, Ludwig	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	Dr. Med.	Doctor of Medicine	M	-
14	Ewelwit, Gustav	M	Unterhueb	Switzerland	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Kronprinz
15	Ewerback, August	M	Hannover	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Kronprinz
16	Flatz, Hugo	M	Tannbach	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Kellnerheim
18	Forster, Albert	M	Dorenweit	Germany	Gutsverwalter	Estate manager	A	Kronprinz
19	Forster, Gertrud	F	Stuttgart	Germany	-	-	?	Augustastrasse
17	Funk, Bertha	F	Hohenberg	Austria	-	-	?	Kronprinz
23	Geisheim, Herbert	M	Stuttgart	Germany	Gartner	Gardener	A	-
24	Gertringen, Hiller von	M	Reppersdorf	Poland, Godziszowa	-	-	?	-
20	Gerwig, Adolf	M	Adelhausen	Switzerland	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Nord Hotel
21	Grone, [Jürgen] von	M	Dornach	Switzerland	-	[Editor & writer]	C	Kronprinz
22	Grunelius, Andreas von	M	Stuttgart	Germany	-	-	?	b. v. Flotow
108	Gunnarsson, Anna	F	Stockholm	Sweden	-	[Publisher]	C	-
27	Hachez, Maria	F	Stuttgart	Germany	Gartnerin	Gardener	A	Kronprinz
33	Hahne, William	M	Hannover	Germany	Kaufmann	Merchant	B	Massenq.
32	Hallbauer, Herr	M	Hamburg	Germany	-	-	?	-
29	Hamburger, Theodor	M	Wein	Austria	-	-	?	-
25	Hauser, Konrad	M	Dischingen	Germany	Direktor	Director	D	Nord Hotel
28	Heyderbrand, Carol [ine] von	F	Stuttgart	Germany	Dr. Phil.	PhD [Teacher]	T	Kronprinz
31	Heyderbrand, von	M	Stuttgart	Germany	-	-	?	-
26	Heyer, Frau M	F	Bocksberg	Germany	-	-	?	Kronprinz
30	Horner, Hanna	F	Bunzlau	Poland, Bolesławiec	-	-	?	-
36	Jacoby, Ernst	M	Schopfheim	Germany	Gutspachter	Auditor	Au	Nord Hotel
35	Jeetze, Frau [Dorothea] Elisabeth von	F	Pilgramshain	Poland, Żółkiewka	-	-	?	-
34	Jeetze, Joachim von	M	Pilgramshain	Poland, Żółkiewka	Landwirt	Farmer	A	-
37	Julke, Erhard	M	Unterhueb	Switzerland	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Kellnerheim
38	Kayser, Paul	M	Langenbrugge	Germany	Hofbesitzer	Farm owner	A	Nord Hotel
46	Keil, Hermann	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	-	-	?	-
41	Keyserlingk, Graf Alex von	M	Koberwitz	Poland, Kobierzyce	Landwirt	Farmer	A	-
40	Keyserlingk, Graf Karl von	M	Koberwitz	Poland, Kobierzyce	Landwirt	Farmer	A	-
42	Keyserlingk, Graf Wolfgang von	M	Koberwitz	Poland, Kobierzyce	Diplom Landwirt	Diploma of Agriculture	A	-
43	Keyserlingk, Gräfin Johanna von	F	Koberwitz	Poland, Kobierzyce	-	[Estate owner]	A	-
45	Kleefeld, Eduard	M	Staig	Germany	Gutsbesitzer	Estate owner	A	Nord Hotel
44	Kolisko, Frau Dr. [Lili]	F	Stuttgart	Germany	-	[Scientist]	S	Kronprinz
49	Koschützki, Frau [Martha Louise] von	F	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	-	-	?	-
39	Koschützki, Rudolf von	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	Priester	Priest	P	-
47	Kuhn, Walter	M	Stettin	Poland, Kobierzyce	Schriftsteller	Writer	C	b. v. Susel
48	Kutscher, Friedrich	M	Dresden	Germany	Kaufmann	Merchant	B	Reichshof
51	Larchenfeld, Graf von	M	Köfering	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Nord Hotel
50	Lippert, Franz	M	Richlingsbergen	Germany, Bergen?	-	[Gardener]	A	Kellnerheim
52	Ludwig, Karl	M	Nürnberg	Germany	Priester	Priest	P	-
57	Marks, Annie	F	Berlin	Germany	Gartnerin	Gardener	A	Reichshof
58	Mellinger, Fräulein Dr.	F	Stuttgart	Germany	-	-	?	-
59	Meyer, Rudolf	M	Koberwitz	Poland, Kobierzyce	Priester	Priest	P	-
53	Michels, Gertrud	F	Stuttgart	Germany	Gartnerin	Gardener	A	Kronprinz
54	Moltke, [Eliza] von	F	[Berlin]	Germany	-	[Editor]	C	-
55	Moltke, Wilhelm [aka Bill] von	M	Berlin	Germany	-	-	?	-
56	Müller, Ursula	F	Dombrowski	Poland, Dąbrowa	-	-	?	Kronprinz
60	Nischwitz, Rudolf	M	Giessen	Germany	Diplom Landwirt	Diploma of Agriculture	A	Kellnerheim
61	Obernitz, von	?	Machnitz	Poland, Machnice	-	-	?	-
67	Pache, Werner	M	Jena	Germany	-	[Curative educator]	C	Kellnerheim
69	Palm, von [aka Baron des Palmes]	M	Stuttgart	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Kronprinz
64	Petersen, Frau	F	Hannover	Germany	-	-	?	Kronprinz
68	Pietsch, Cecilie	F	Koberwitz	Poland, Kobierzyce	Hausdame	Housekeeper	H	-
66	Pilsach, Senfft von	M	Töst	Germany, Tostedt	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Kellnerheim
65	Pini, Gertrud	F	Stuttgart	Germany	-	-	?	Kronprinz
110	Pohl, Richard	M	Netzsch	Germany	Lehrer	Teacher	T	-
62	Polzer-Hoditz, Graf von	M	Tannbach	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Nord Hotel

#	Name	G	Hometown	Country*	Occupation	Occupation**	OC	Hotel
63	Polzer-Hoditz, Gräfin [Berta] von	F	Tannbach	Germany	-	-	?	-
78	Raabe, Wulf	M	Berlin	Germany	Kunstmaler	Artist (painter)	C	Reichshof
76	Ripple, Fritz	M	Neu Sassnitz	Germany	-	-	?	-
71	Ritter, Walther	M	Köfering	Germany	Dr.	Doctor	M	Nord Hotel
77	Rodenbeek	M	Cassel	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Reichshof
72	Rommel, Gerhard	M	Stuttgart	Germany	-	-	?	Kellnerheim
75	Ropp, Baron von der	M	Gelsdorf	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Kronprinz
73	Rulni, Franz	M	[Dornach]	[Switzerland]	-	[Gardener]	A	Kronprinz
74	Ruths [-Hoffmann], Marie [Karin]	F	Elzan	?	-	-	?	Kronprinz
70	Ruths, Karl	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	Oberingenieur	Chief engineer	E	-
85	Schade, Fritz	M	Satznitz	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Nord Hotel
86	Schenker, Dora	F	Mariensee	Austria	Ritterguts	Estate owner	A	Nord Hotel
89	Schenker, Ullrich	M	Wein	Austria	Student	Student	St	Nord Hotel
82	Schmidt, Martin	M	Cassel	Germany	-	[Farmer]	A	Nord Hotel
84	Schöpflin-Stockmeyer, [Waltraut?]	F	Berlin	Germany	-	-	?	Nord Hotel
82	Schroder, F. G.	M	Stuttgart	Germany	Gutsbesitzer	Estate owner	A	Lohestrasse 42
87	Schumann, Adolf	M	Walsen (Hof)	Germany	-	-	?	-
88	Schwartz, Max	M	Worpswede	Germany	-	-	?	Nord Hotel
92	Schweidnitz, Gräfin Eva von	F	[Schweidnitz]	[Poland, Świdnica]	-	-	?	-
91	Spiegel, Gustav	M	Berlin	Germany	Priester	Priest	P	-
109	Spieler, Kurt	M	Scheßlitz	Germany	Lehrer	Teacher	T	-
79	Stegemann, Ernst	M	Nörten	Germany	Klosterguts	Monastery manager	A	Nord Hotel
80	Stegemann, Frau	F	Nörten	Germany	-	-	?	-
83	Stromenger, Paul	M	Schopfheim	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	Kellnerheim
90	Suchantke, Gerhard	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	stud.med.	Student of medicine	M	-
94	Unger, Felix	M	Dornach	Switzerland	-	-	?	Sauerbrun 5
93	Usteri, Dr A [lfred]	M	Reinach	Switzerland	Bothaniker	Botanist	S	Kronprinz
95	Voegele, Emanuel [Immanuel Vögele]	M	Breesen	Germany	Landwirt	Farmer	A	-
96	Volkamer, Gustav	M	Stuttgart	Germany	-	-	?	Reichshof
97	Vreede, Fräulein Dr. [Elisabeth]	F	Dornach	Switzerland	-	[Mathematician]	S	Nord Hotel
103	Wachsmuth, Gunther	M	Dornach	Switzerland	Dr.	Doctor	M	-
99	Walther, Klara	F	Berlin	Germany	-	-	?	-
98	Walther, Kurt	M	Berlin	Germany	-	-	?	-
101	Weimann, Erich	M	Unterhueb	Switzerland	Gutsverwalter	Estate manager	A	Kellnerheim
100	Woitinas, Helmut	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	Gartner	Gardener	A	-
103	Wustinghausen, Kurt von	M	Breslau	Poland, Wrocław	Priester	Priest	P	-
104	Zastrow, Fräulein Luise von	F	Birgwitz	Poland, Bierkowitz	-	[Estate owner]	A	-
105	Zastrow, Lore von	F	Birgwitz	Poland, Bierkowitz	-	[Estate owner]	A	-
106	Zimmermann, Georg	M	Lenggo	Germany	Obstpachter	Orchardist	A	Kellnerheim

Table 1 notes: (#= the ordinal number on the original list; G=Gender: M=male, F=Female; *Country= current country, current name of town where different; **Occupation, translated, or in square brackets where otherwise known; OC=occupation code: A=agriculture, C=creative, D=doctor, E=engineer, M=merchant, P=priest; S=scientist, St=student, T=teacher).

The gender distribution of the Koberwitzers appears in Table 2. Thirty one percent of the audience were women, 68% were men, and for one attendee the gender was undetermined. The Koberwitzers were mostly singeltons, but they also included various family groupings, including family clusters (e.g three Bartschs, and four Keyserlingks [15]), husband and wife (e.g. the Polzer-Hoditzs), father and daughter (e.g the Ruths [15]), and mother and son (e.g. the Moltkes [17]).

Table 2. Gender distribution of Koberwitzers at the Agriculture Course.

Gender	Number ($\Sigma n=111$)	Percentage*
Male	76	68%
Female	34	31%
Not known	1	1%

Koberwitzers were from five countries, with the clear majority from Germany (n=62) and with other European countries represented as follows: Poland (n=32), Switzerland

(n=10), Austria (n=4) Sweden (n=2), and with one Koberwitzer of undetermined country (Table 3). Unlike the previous version of this table [3], only one hometown entry remains unresolved, viz. Elzan. This may have previously been resolved as 'Elzange' (France), but that could not be substantiated for the present study. No Koberwitzers were attributed to France for the present paper. One Koberwitzer remains unallocated to a country.

Table 3. Country distribution of Koberwitzers at the Agriculture Course.

Country	Number ($\Sigma n=111$)	Percentage*
Germany	62	56%
Poland	32	29%
Switzerland	10	9%
Austria	4	4%
Sweden	2	2%
Not known	1	1%

Forty two of the Koberwitzers were directly associated

with agriculture and farming (Table 4). Those classified here as 'agriculture' included farmers, gardeners, an orchardist, estate managers and estate owners, and professionally credentialed agriculturalists and an agriculture student. There were 12 other occupations. There were seven creatives (including artist, author, writer, and editor), and seven priests. There were five teachers, four doctors (including one medical student), three scientists (including a botanist and a mathematician). There were two engineers, and two merchants. There was one each of auditor, director, housekeeper, military, and student (of unspecified domain). Occupations that appear in square brackets were attributed by the present author (Table 1). Thirty three Koberwitzers (30%) were of undeclared and undetermined occupation.

Table 4. Occupational distribution of Koberwitzers at the Agriculture Course.

Profession	Number ($\Sigma n=111$)	Percentage*
Agriculture	42	38%
Creative (artist, author, writer, editor)	7	6%
Priest	7	6%
Teacher	5	5%
Doctor/Medical	4	4%
Scientist	3	3%
Engineer	2	2%
Merchant	2	2%
Auditor	1	1%
Director	1	1%
Housekeeper	1	1%
Military	1	1%
Student	1	1%
Not known	33	30%

The accommodation recorded for Koberwitzers appears in Table 5. It is understood that most Koberwitzers stayed at nearby Breslau (Wrocław). Accommodation would be more readily available in the city of Breslau (rather than the village of Koberwitz), there was an evening program of Anthroposophic events at Breslau (including a series of lectures by Rudolf Steiner), and it was a short commute from Breslau to Koberwitz by train or car. For 46% of Koberwitzers the accommodation field was blank. Some Koberwitzers (including those who lived at Koberwitz e.g. the Keyserlingks, those who lived in Breslau, and others who lived within commuting distance) would have stayed in their own home, where there was a manageable commute to the Koberwitz and Breslau events.

There are some minor variations in the data counts of the present paper compared to a previous paper [3]. Such variations are an outcome of further and better particulars being currently available, and so the present tabulations (Tables 2 through 4) supersede the prior tabulations

Table 5. Accommodation distribution of Koberwitzers at the Agriculture Course.

Hotel/Accommodation	Number ($\Sigma n=111$)	Percentage*
Kronprinz	22	20%
Nord Hotel	16	14%
Kellnerheim	10	9%
Reichshof	5	5%
Christen Hospital	1	1%
Boarded with ...	2	2%
Other	4	4%
Not known	51	46%

Since there remain 'Not Known' entries in each of the tables (2 through 5) of the present paper, it is anticipated that, as further and better particulars arise, some of these unknowns may be resolved in the future, and the data revised.

4. Discussion

Some of the names that appear as Koberwitzers are well recognisable for their contributions to the development of biodynamics and/or Anthroposophy.

During the course, Rudolf Steiner founded a research entity, the Experimental Circle of Anthroposophic Farmers and Gardeners, to test, develop, and progress the ideas and ideals of the course. Sixty of the Koberwitzers joined the Experimental Circle [1]. Rudolf Steiner appointed two Koberwitzers, Count Carl von Keyserlingk (1869-1928) and Ernst Stegemann (1882-1943), as joint chairmen of the Experimental Circle [22]. Count Keyserlingk was the initiator and host of the course, and it was held at his estate at Koberwitz.

When the Australian pioneer of biodynamics, Ernesto Genoni (1885-1975), visited Europe, "In 1930 I went to Dornach again to become acquainted with the B. D. farming", he visited at least two of the Koberwitzers to learn first hand of their practices, Ernst Stegemann (1882-1943) at Marienhöhe and Dr Erhard Bartsch (1895-1960) [23, 24].

Two of the Koberwitzers, Erhard Bartsch and Franz Dreidax (1892-1964) were early editors of 'Demeter', a periodical promoting biodynamics [25, 26].

One Koberwitzer, Dr Lili Kolisko (1889-1976), devoted the rest of her life to advancing biodynamics. She recounted that: "In 1924 Rudolf Steiner entrusted me personally with the task of making all the necessary scientific investigations in connection with his Agricultural Course. Since 1924 I have studied all his suggestions for regenerating Agriculture ... Nothing will be withheld; this is no time for secrecy. Rudolf Steiner meant his suggestions for the whole world, not for a small group of privileged farmers" [27: v].

The Koberwitzer Dr Gunter Wachsmuth (1893-1963) was appointed in December 1923 by Rudolf Steiner as the head of

the Natural Sciences Section of the School of Spiritual Science at the Goetheanum [28]. He was the editor of, and he wrote the Preface to, the first English language translation of the 'Agriculture Course' [29]. Wachsmuth collaborated with Ehrenfried Pfeiffer in the development of the biodynamic preparations [14], and he wrote a biography of Rudolf Steiner [30].

The Koberwitzer Franz Rulni (1894-1981) created the first biodynamic agricultural calendar and published versions of the calendar for three decades [31].

The Koberwitzer Dr Elizabeth Vreede (1879-1943) was appointed in December 1923 by Rudolf Steiner as the head of the Mathematical-Astronomical Section of the School of Spiritual Science at the Goetheanum [28]. She published anthroposophical works on astronomy [32] including a correspondence course [33].

5. Conclusion

A maxim states that 'the perfect is the enemy of the good'. The list of the self-styled Koberwitzers, the participants in Rudolf Steiner's Agriculture Course at Koberwitz in the summer of 1924, in the present paper, is less than a 'perfect' list. The list can however serve as a 'good' list, and as an iteration towards a perfect list (which would be complete in all cells), remembering, however, that the perfect list may be an unattainable goal, especially so after the lapse of nearly a century, and may never materialise.

The present list offers multiple scholarship opportunities to flush out of the archives of time, details that are absent in the present listing (or details that are in need of revision), including missing first names, places, occupations, and gender. Such scholarship may take us some distance towards the 'perfect' list and may revise some of the present author's proposed gap fillers (which appear in square brackets in Table 1). Further scholarship should also not overlook the possibility that there are perhaps errors of compilation and/or transcription in the present listing.

As we approach the centenary of Rudolf Steiner's Agriculture Course, it is hoped that the present listing will prompt research into 'fleshing out' the Koberwitz 111, who they were, what was their involvement in, and contribution to biodynamics and/or Anthroposophy, and perhaps their correspondence, photographs, and memoirs. The present paper is a starting point for such further research.

The impulse that began in the summer of 1924 at Koberwitz, has now been heard around the globe. There are currently 251,842 certified biodynamic hectares in 55 countries [10], and 71,514,583 certified organic hectares in 186 countries [11].

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